565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66L is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known, the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

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177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 177 648 669 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements. It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 648 669 The activities of those who chose resistance became increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned. Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Bolombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

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/131 cont./ Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daëng Manromo Karaëng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

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177 They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

1. Through a series of special

/131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /132/ corresponded completely to the line of developments.
648 The struggle for the hegemony of South Celebes herewith entered into a subsequent stage.

The princes of Bone and Goa became, respectively, chairman and vice-chairman of this body (1). It is to be expected

1. Concluded as of December, 1949.

that Goa will continue its struggle for the hegemony by endeavoring to capture the chairmanship of the Hadat Tinggi, an attempt that, if Goa should ever succeed in doing so, will subsequently be conducted in the same manner and with the same means by the kingdom which will then occupy the second position of power.

648 The people of South Celebes, and most of all the princes, know that they are part of a larger whole. Each power center situated outside South Celebes which wants to exercise influence in this area is regarded by the princes as a possible aid in attaining their ideal, hegemony. They are constantly striving for a single large kingdom encompassing the whole of South Celebes, where there will be peace. They think that this is possible to attain only for a prince of ideally pure extraction, one who possesses to the highest degree the ideal personal qualities.

Opposition is therefore conducted on the highest imaginable plane -- for South Celebes. The prince who has the leadership of the High Hadat will continue to strive toward the collapse of power of the other realms in order to strengthen his own position as well as that of his group of relatives, and in order to give them a greater durability. The possibility of conducting opposition will, however, always continue to be present with one of the other groups, if only for the reason that no prince can be of ideally pure extraction or can possess the ideal personal qualities.

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

177 554 576 For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality, /133/ independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

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/133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

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A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 676 622 437

The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626

A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

462 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger
476 ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

962 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done seweral times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 462 At the present time a comparatively large number of these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns [283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large [286] import of cheap sarongs. Only bettter ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding [252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

/144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be cut down & worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

177 /147 cont./ store, the Arab and Chinese storekeepers in
834 Macassar know that they cannot turn directly to the young girls to recommend their wares but that, for this purpose, they have to address the escorting man or older woman, while the younger ones talk among each other and thus make their wishes known. One who does not take these feelings into account runs the risk of being passed over at a subsequent visit to the store.

671 The separate domains of the sexes in the house and the
834 division of labor contribute to the fact that the prohibition against contact is carried out to a great extent in daily life.
[626] The strict sanction imposed on their violation lends a forced character to the relations between young men and girls. Contact may only take place in complete secrecy or, by way of exception, if it is expressly or silently permitted. In that case it is still tied to special regulations. There is never any uninhibited association. Some of these occasions will be described here.

527 After harvest, so-called pounding festivals (1) are
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1. Called Adengka ase lolo, "the pounding of the young paddy."

[374] regularly held. These take place during the evening in the yard before the house by the /148/ glimmer of an oil lamp, preferably when there is a bright moon shining. For this, the pounding block is hung up in rattan strings, and while
[533 the girls pound, two or three of their closest male relatives
534] beat with sticks against the transverse axle of the block in a rapid and powerful rhythm. This sound is audible at great distances; the purpose is to attract young people from far and near to come and look. What they see is four girls

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

[273]

[554]

1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
574 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

977 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N[illegible] sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 157 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 182 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het," /"an 'it' person." -- Ed./.

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
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1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

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585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834 If one compares the crying, passive Makassarese bride
585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could only conclude that what was most important for him, was lacking among the Dutch.

177 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
585 a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress, and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train. He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the headdress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
●177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use," or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht,/ Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
684

●177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906, Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

/221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual [588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge, there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But
[626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
[626] criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
684 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that
● [177] existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

114 /252 cont./ dependent. Comparison of the figures accordingly
217 indicates little concerning the actual number of transactions
675 carried out in the respective territorial sections. A general
425 impression can be derived from this register of what is transacted in a certain region. But no conclusions can be drawn with respect to the number of transactions.

Of the 31 transactions recorded in 1948, 6 concern the transfer of a sawah; 5 the transfer of a piece of dry land; 16 the sale of buffaloes; and 2 the transfer of a sewing machine.

The number of buffalo sales probably approaches the actual number most closely. [illegible]nce in the case of transportation -- which is necessary [illegible] sale to one residing outside the seller's adat community [illegible]alo pass is necessary, and some heads exercise a certain [illegible]e for registration in the registry /253/ of the Indonesian [illegible]ry when such a pass is issued. The land transactions do not approximate the actual number by an estimated tenth part.

Misdemeanor Registers

114 In the register of misdemeanors (Rappor Kedjahatan),
217 which is also kept in the adat community office, the violations
674 and misdemeanors that are reported there are entered, and at the same time those against whom the evidence is reported. In the first six months of 1948, 15 were reported there, that is: 9 buffalo thefts, 2 maltreatments, 1 threat with the badik, 2 minor thefts, and 1 assault on a woman. Eight of the 9 buffalo thefts remained unsolved. This register was not introduced until 1948; little can as yet be said about its effect.

[177]

Registers of Legal Matters

114 The registers of legal matters which are divided into civil
217 and criminal, are kept in the adat community office of Borongloë
671 when they concern "minor" matters that come up before the

2: Wilken--178 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Lampong-Redjong OD12
Javanese OE5
Malagasy FY2

B [143 cont.]
MK Malays (2). The same holds for the Lampong language (3).
LR
192
177

2. Matthes, Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Introduction, IX. Matthes, Boegineesche Spraakkunst, Introduction, VII.

3. Van der Tuuk, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 150.

I The eastern languages contain hardly any Sanskrit words;
J Dajak has even fewer. Those that occur in the former were
B introduced by the Malays. In the second place, the Malayan
192 languages borrowed many words from the Arabic; in this respect, too, Malay and Javanese stand at the top. Most of these words refer to religion and law; the others have been adopted out of sympathy with the language that the natives consider holy. Arabic words also occur in the other languages, especially in those of peoples who embraced Islam, hence in Makassarese and Buginese.

I Besides Sanskrit and Arabic (4), the languages of the
192

4. De Clercq, Het Maleisch der Molukken [The Malayan of the Moluccas], pp. 1-60.

archipelago have also borrowed words from the Chinese, very few, however, Portuguese (5), and Dutch. The latter, of

Mal. 5. Malagasy borrowed many words from
[192] the Persian, Van der Tuuk, Vier Maleische Vertellingen [Four Malayan Stories], Note XII.

course, are mainly words connected with administration. In general, however, the words borrowed from Dutch are relatively few in number, which is really surprising [144] because one

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tapā lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK 771 day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK 174 the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was intro- MK 771 duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

Makassar OG6
Sidang OG8

S
838 Van der Veen said that there are only a few real hermaphro-
824 dites here, but that there are many homosexuals. And here
792 is something! Boys who show feminine tendencies are fed maize because it is linked with the earth (female principle), and not rice, because the latter is heavenly and connected with the male principle.

000 Ambon: I met an insurance man at the Rotary Club meeting in Makassar, at which I spoke. His name is Kaihatu. He is from Oma, on Saparua, I think [Haruku]. Anyway, he said that they have quite a bit of pela [ally, in the sense of institutionalized friendship] practices there. One cannot marry a person of a fellow pela village. Thus Oma and a village on another island [Saparua] are in a pela relationship to each other. This involves a great amount of mutual aid. Although one can not marry a person from the other village it is evidently possible to marry in one's own village. Kaihatu said that even in a far away place such as Java, if a man of Oma meets one from a pela village he will help him in all ways possible. And he will never think of marrying. This custom is still strong, and even the moderns have no idea of breaking it. He also said that there was much black magic and that such beliefs are firm. I will see him later.

M
609 South Celebes: On my way back from Malino I was stopped
126 by two lads at Lebon pasar. They were on their way from
291 Makassar to the village where the Goa radja lived. They were selling clothing and asked me for a lift saying that there were two men. But soon two more appeared, and finally there were seven. All got in the jeep with their luggage. They were jolly and friendly. They pointed out a special black cape worn by nobles (but not only by nobles; perhaps only by women?) on the road. This type of cape is really beautiful, even out in the country. At one point they asked to stop and bought two large bunches of bananas. I asked them why. They said that the bananas were for me! And these the "surly Makassarese"! I took a fast photo of them [with a Polaroid Land camera] and they were overjoyed. I gave one to them, and they are going to make copies for all. They posed with considerable pride. The kraton [court] of the radja was white walled, but inside it looked like the ordinary native houses.

M
[115] South Celebes: the following information was obtained
181 from van Heekeren of the archaeological service and Abdul
609 Rahim, Guru, an assistant of Cense and Chabot. They said
● 177 that the Makassarese and Buginese are very conservative. They claim that they will not change much. Thus, if they are asked why they do not use the potter's wheel, for example,

they will say that their fathers did it this way. Van Heekeren knows of a family still living in a cave (where?). When he asked them why they were not living in the nearby village, they said that their fathers from away back had lived in caves, and there had been no change. He said further that in Mandar there must still be a few of the Toala type. They live far back, and bring in tribute to the radja. He will look for them he said. But he thinks that the Toala are merely mountain Buginese. He added that Toala radja are very glad to see whites because their relations with whites have always been good. Men like Adriani and Kruyt started this good tradition and hence they like whites. Also, the Makassarese and Buginese never had too many whites around and so there are good feelings in this respect. He said that Bone is a good example of this. There [in Bone--Analyst] the 1906 war was regarded as a sporting proposition. Afterwards the radja was restored. The flag shows clasped hands, Dutch and Bone. Speelman said that as long as the chain he gave to the radja of Bone remained unbroken the two peoples would remain friends. He gave an enormous chain. Also inscribed on the flag is a statement to the effect that they will remain friends as long as the sun continues to shine. When there were troubles after the war, the Bone radja declared his position strongly and raised the Dutch flag.

M 181 609 177 ●

C 175 648

Even the younger generation admires and believes in the mana of the radjas. Thus if President Soekawati [President of the State of East Indonesia] appears there is little reaction, but if the radja appears there is great feeling.

C 778 565

Van Heekeren is going on an expedition to Galumpang in the southern part of West Toradja territory. He is excavating a neolithic site there. It takes about six days of walking beyond the end of the road to reach the site.

C 114

Abdul Rahim is to get me a man, probably a relative, to start the work in the kampong of Balombaru. This kampong is six kilometers south from the center of Makassar, and is Rahim's own village. It is two kilometers beyond the city limit, in Guru. It is said to be a good place for my work in as much as it has most of the typical characteristics, including the influence of nobility. I will start tomorrow.

M 124

Flores: I met [in Makassar] the Radja of Sikka. He looks like an American Negro. His name is D. Silva, and he is evidently a Catholic. His secretary is a Dutchman. This seems to be the pattern now in East Indonesia, with the Dutchmen acting very obsequious.

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had
576 a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
593 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).
123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
● 177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the
000 feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

123 . As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
●177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

M school children with their teachers. I noticed much lining
541 up in schoolyards also. Is this Dutch or Japanese? One
533 group had a band. There were a few, poorly made, little
●177 drums- possibly home made--and a number of bamboo flutes. The playing was not bad.

C Parepare is on the coast and has a fine bay. There are
485 many rivers along this bay and at each one finds many praus.
133 Some are rather large and are tied up near the road bridge for evidently they cannot go further inland. From Parepare I went north to Pinrang where the road turns inland and begins to worsen. Then I went on to Rappang where the slope of the land begins to rise gently and where the road has no surfacing but many loose stones. There was not much traffic. I went on to Enrekang which is quite high up and is fairly large. There is a pasanggrahan [government rest house] on a hill, and beneath it plenty of white government buildings. I had a miserable meal of fried rice, eggs, and awful coffee. It cost
C me £3, which was too much. When taking a picture of flying
136 foxes hanging in the trees, I dropped and broke my polaroid exposure meter here. There are thousands of these flying foxes in the trees, making a terrific noise. They evidently scream all day in crowds while hanging upside down with their leathery wings folded. They looked fantastic through the glasses. They are big with furry bodies, and with faces and heads almost looking like bears. Horrible! Later a woman in the Makale pasanggrahan said that they smell awful too.

000 The jeep and everything in it was now covered with dust which seeps in everywhere. After Enrekang I went up into the hills to Kalosi and here it is really high up. I thought that this was already Toradja country here, but later a girl told me that I was mistaken and that the local people are still Buginese. I noticed that there was a wide area, almost uninhabited, between the Buginese lowland and the Toradja mountains. Finally I arrived in Makale and went to the pasanggrahan which appeared to be quite good. I got the single room, ate, drank, and talked with two Dutch couples until 11 P.M. when the lights go out. One woman who was quite pretty said she was born in Medan and went to school in Batavia. She had been only twice to Holland, and then not for very long. She said that this is her country.

In the morning I talked with one of the men. He was formerly a controleur in West Borneo, and was now starting the same program in Makale. He said, however, that he had no power and felt quite frustrated. He said that the economic

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
● 177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
●177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always removed. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
102 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs. 203

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in the school. This is the big thing here. They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism. 829 186

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is." 177 535 609

Flores: The following information was obtained from the Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant 000

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederic y. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna.

186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

241 262

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as langa, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade. [501]

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
241 cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco, Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. 000
During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were 291
ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is 178
now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that 728
the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and [439]
import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

As for changes in the market place and in market activities, 177
they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people 489
could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. For- 436
merly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [pro- 178
bably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst]coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including 177
four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were 489
three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. 493
There is much travel by bus today.

As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic 428
and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main 562
thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance 591
it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that 611
the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilocal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he [578]
might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f. 40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f. 48 more to bring the total to f. 88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177● 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f. 0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-

[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pétta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have